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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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R & A No. 1243

first draft

THE FOREIGN LABORER IN GERMANY AS AN MO TARGET

Description

The paper deals with the number, geographical and occupational distribution of foreign workers, their contacts with each other, with the Germans, and with the outside world; the reaction of the Germans toward them, and the Nazi controls over them. Certain PW operations are suggested.

30 September 1943

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introductory Note

1. How Many Foreign Laborers are in Germany? .....
2. How is Each National Group Distributed Geographically? ..
3. How Are They Distributed in Terms of Occupation? .....
4. Communications Among Foreign Workers and Between Germans and Foreign Workers .....
5. Foreign Laborers in Transportation .....
6. German Reaction to Foreign Workers .....
7. Possible Contacts From Outside Germany .....
8. Controls Over Foreign Laborers .....
9. Suggested PW Operations .....

Introductory Note

1. The table in Chapter 1 (The Number of Foreign Laborers now in Germany) gives the figures as of May 1, 1943. The number of foreign laborers and working prisoners of war may since have increased. The Germans assert that, due to Speer's appointment, the number of foreigners employed in armament factories will be reduced. The impending comb-out of German industry is intended to close down unnecessary industries, to transfer their employees to armament industries and to employ foreign laborers exclusively outside of the armament field. Whether their intentions can be materialized cannot yet be forseen.

2. The paper does not deal with prisoners of war, whether employed or not. The controls of P/W are different. The camps are under army control. Sentries are provided by the military, mostly older soldiers who may be politically more sympathetic to the P/W than to the Labor Front and SA guard. On the other hand, the army controls are more efficient than those of the Labor Front.

3. It is suggested that the Office of Censorship compile a list of camps for foreign laborers.

4. It is suggested that all efforts be directed toward finding out the political and trade union affiliations of the foreign laborer, especially of the French, Belgian, Dutch, Danish and Czech workers. This may be done through cooperation of the various regional sections of R & A with the government-in-exile.

5. It is suggested that the schedules of international trains crossing Germany be assembled.

4. Communication Among Foreign Workers and Between German and Foreign Workers.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that no hard and fast general rules can be made on the status of foreign workers, as the situation varies greatly from group to group. The primary distinctions to be made among the foreign working elements are those of (1) Nationality, (2) Residence, (3) Occupation, and (4) Political Composition.

I. Nationality

The position of foreign workers in Germany cannot be understood apart from the Nazi conceptions of "racial equality" (Artgleichheit) and "racial affinity" (Artverwandschaft). For, as in all other spheres, the German racial theories have been applied to the full.

Thus, German legislation governing labor conditions is not uniform for all foreign workers, but sets different standards for various national groups.

The exceptional standards relate primarily to Poles, Russians, and prisoners of war employed in civilian labor. Each of these categories is governed by separate prescriptions, which are in consonance with the racial and political status assigned to each group. Foreign workers in the Reich can be classified in the following groups in ascending order: (1) Russians, (2) Poles, (3) Prisoners of War, (4) all other foreigners.

The last category covers all non-German workers unaffected by special prescriptions arising from their alien race (Artfremdheit) or political hostility (politische Feindschaft). "Political hostility" is a general conception covering Poles, Russians, and prisoners-of-war.

All foreign workers falling within the fourth category are "in principle" promised equal treatment with German workers. Nevertheless, minor distinctions are drawn between Scandinavians, Belgians, French and Dutch -- in descending order. 1/

Objectively, the association of the individual foreign worker with Germans is determined by his occupation and place of residence -- subjectively, by his and the German's desire to establish and maintain such association.

II. Residence

Some 75-80% of Germany's foreign workers are housed in workers' camps. At this writing it is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy how many of Germany's 20,000 civilian workers' camps 2/ are inhabited by foreigners, although it is known that 8,000 existed at the time

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1/ OSS 41485S.
2/ Transocean, 22.8.43 in News Digest August 23, B11.

they were put under the direct supervision of the DAF. 1/ These camps range in population from 30 to 3,000 or 4,000.

With regard to the composition of the camps there are two opposing contentions, both amply supported by evidence. For example, the PWE Exec. Central Dir. of June 24, 1943 2/ mentions:

> . . . . the systematic attempt to separate them (i.e., workers of one nationality); no one group of the same nationality is left together in the huts . . . . It is evident that it is the result of an order to isolate each deportee among a mass of foreign companions.

In contradiction, another reliable report asserts that "workers of different nationalities must be housed in separate hutments, or at least in separate groups within the hutments."3/

The situation in the camps is far from uniform. Rigid discipline, order, and cleanliness are maintained in some, but others are dirty hovels.

German sentries in camp are on the watch, but this control is sometimes rather lax, being exercised by young boys from the Hitler Youth. 4/

In their leisure time, workers are at liberty to visit movies, bars, and even brothels. Excursions or stage plays are occasionally organized for them.

Although these privileges have consistently been denied the Poles and Ostarbeiter, of late they too have been included, but with restrictions:

> On the initiative of the DAF Gauwaltung the authorities of the Stadtkreis Lippstadt have granted some favors to male and female eastern workers employed there. It is intended so to arrange the lives of the eastern workers here that their working capacity is preserved for the Reich for a considerable time. The DAF have arranged that on Sunday afternoons the restaurants on the Schützenplatz shall be open for male and female eastern workers. The roundabouts, shooting galleries, etc. in the Gemeinstrasse will also be reserved solely for them during the next few days, thus enabling them to enjoy a few hours of fun. We wish them to enjoy the pleasures of a fair too, realizing that this favor will contribute towards increasing their willingness to work. 5/

Best situated for contact work in the camps is the Betreur, or leaders, who "look after the spiritual and material interest of the workers." 6/ Although the Betreur is a foreigner, he probably has a "dependable" record from the Nazi viewpoint.

1/ Sauckel Ruling #4, May 7, 1942.
2/ OSS 37815S.
3/ "Recruitment of French Labor for Germany", International Labor Review, March, 1943. Censorship SJ37694 has a record of a Lorenzo Magarelli, Lager Italien Stube 312, Busenstrasse, Kassel which is an Italian workers' camp.

III. Occupation

Occupation is the primary determinent of the associations of the foreign worker because most of his waking hours are spent at work.

1. Agricultural workers. Contacts of agricultural workers are to a great degree determined by the size of the farm or estate and its proximity to towns, villages, and other estates. On the smaller and more isolated farms his contacts would necessarily be limited to his German employer, his fellow workers (German and foreign) and perhaps to the neighboring farm workers. On the larger estates these would increase proportionally.

The severity of control imposed on the foreign farm worker is in direct proportion to the Nazification of his employer, as the intimacy of their contact makes it very easy to keep the foreigner under close surveillance.

Foreign workers are occasionally free to visit the surrounding towns and estates during leisure time. This freedom, however, is denied Ostarbeiter and Poles:

> Some reports indicate that those workers from the East who are employed in rural districts often move about freely, visit each other, and even meet in taverns and cross the village border line. The owners of an enterprise are responsible in seeing that workers from the East do not leave their lodging after the work is done. For all workers from the East, male or female, there is a strict curfew in order to maintain the safety of the country. 1/

Further, because of the fear of Communist organizers, only White Russians and Ukrainians are employed in agriculture. Even here a careful selection is attempted to "prevent politically dangerous elements from mixing with the Germans." 2/

2. Domestic workers. Of rapidly decreasing size and importance are the present 75,000 foreign household servants -- primarily women and young girls from the East. With regard to the domestic workers from the East there is an official ruling: 3/

> These domestic servants may leave their employers' residence only for shopping purposes and to run errands. They have no right to leisure hours but may be permitted to remain outside their employer's residence during three hours, if they do a particularly good job. They must, however, return from their leave before dark, i.e. at 8 p.m. at the latest. When away from their homes they must have their work cards on their persons.

1/ Br.N. 27.8.42.
2/ MEW #104.
3/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 26.11.42.

3. Industrial workers. Of greater significance for MO are the numerous workers in industry. Despite the many German rulings aimed at insulating foreigners from German workers, "free" workers from prisoners of war, and segregating workers of the same nationality, there are possibilities for contact which are usually better in small industries.

The opportunities in a small plant with an employer apparently generous toward his foreign help may be seen in this letter from a British prisoner of war: 1/

> In the office we have a Frenchwoman, a young man from Luxembourg, and two from Prague . . . . as soon as the chief leaves the office they get together in a group . . . . The Frenchwoman stations herself at a window and talks with the French prisoners. Even the workers, be they Italians, Greeks, Croats, or Spaniards, show considerable kindness to me.

IV. Political Solidarity

It must be emphasized, however, that despite this instance, there is no way of determining with any accuracy the degree of political intercourse. The following reports will give some indication, but it is hazardous to generalize from them:

> In factories where Dutch and Flemish workers are employed there often reigns a spirit of solidarity, as the language differences between the workers who speak low German and these foreigners is slight. 2/

> German workers who were formerly organized as Socialists and trade unionists are very eager to get information from the foreign workers, who are usually well-informed 3/

> The French workers imported into Germany are doing an excellent job of pro-ally propaganda. They tell their German colleagues news from Allied radio stations. Their miserable living conditions and long hours of work have made them more Communist than they were before, and they are winning many German workers for the Communist party which is supposed to include 75% of the German workers at present. 4/

1/ Censorship PW/MEF/03275/43.

2/ OSS A7809C.

3/ OSS 37530S from Committee of SD Party in London.

4/ B-3, 9.6.43 in OSS S-38383.

Dictionaries for workers are published in French, Flemish, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Russian and Ukrainian by the Fremdsprachen Verlagsgesellschaft. 1/

The same house also publishes a group of weekly papers for the various foreign workers: 2/

Bulgarian	"Rodine"
Danish	"Broen"
Flemish	"De Vlaamsche Post"
Dutch	"Van Henk"
Italian	"Il Camerata"
Croatian	"Domovina Hrvatska"
Eastukrainian	"Ukrainez"
Russian	"Trud"
Slovak	"Slovensky Tyzden"
Spanish	"Enlace"
Czech	"Cesky dalnik"
Walloon	"L'Effort Wallon"
French	"Le Pont"

Also available as a means of contact are the periodicals of the following French prisoner of war camps, (95% of their effectives are workers): 3/

Stalags: 4/

II B. "L'Optimiste"
III A. "La Double Gamelle"
IV B. "Chantecler"
V B. "Le Captif de la Foret"
VI C. "Le Canard en barbeles"
VI G. "L'Echo de la Hardthoehe"
VIII C. "Le Soleil Saganais"
IX B. "Le Xerrigan"
X C. "Le Mois"
VIII A. "Le Lumignon"
IX A. "Ephemere"
IX C. "Le IX C."
XI B. "Unir"
XII D. "Les Loisirs de Pretiberg"
XIII C. "La pause"
XVII B. "Le Guet Mat."
XII A. "Demain"
XIII A. "Treize . . . Cr"
XVII A. "L'Equipe"
XVIII C. "Le Stalag XVIII C. vous parle"
II D. "La Chasse Cafard"
IV A. "Le Noineau"
IV C. "Reflets"
VI A. "Pour Nous"
VI F. "Le pass' Temps"

The various West European equivalents of the DAF such as the Dutch NAF, the Belgian UTMI, and the French Amicale des travailleurs francais en Allemagne maintain "Welcome Centers" 5/ -- clubhouses providing libraries, classes in German, films, lectures, etc. 6/ Literary circles are also fairly common in centers of large French population. 7/

1/ HFB 25.4.43.
2/ HFB 25.4.43
3/ Le Figaro, 6.5.42.
4/ I.e., war prisoner camps
5/ Radio Paris, 13.10.42 in News Digest #952.
6/ HFB 19.1.43
7/ Censorship S. Africa Special 307/43

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V. Opportunities for Contacts

1. Truck Drivers and Road Gangs. Favorably situated for extensive contacts are the workers employed as truck drivers 1/ and chauffeurs, 2/ although there is no precise knowledge of the supervision over them. Foreigners are granted operator licenses: even Ostarbeiter receive them if a supervisor rides with them on the vehicle. 3/ Unskilled labor on such tasks as road construction gangs should offer opportunities for contact among the foreign laborers, although there usually is no lack of supervision.

2. German Women and Foreigners. The type of "contact" that has probably been of primary importance for psychological warfare may be observed in the following items from the Oberschlesische Zeitung, Katowice, of 20.3.43:

"The Justizpresstelle of the Katowice announces that the Katowice Court has sentenced an unmarried woman, Hedwig Meyer, to one year's penal camp for continuous intimate intercourse with French prisoners of war, which was not without results.

"In another case, a married woman, Martha Muller, of Lindenau . . . was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for unlawful intercourse with French prisoners of war. She repeatedly talked to them from ennui, photographed some of them, and gave them photographs. She also took a damaged watch belonging to one of the prisoners of war to Münsterberg for repair."

3. Liaison Men. Best situated for contact work are the liaison men (Verbindungsmänner) of the West-European equivalents of the DAF (Nederlandische Arbeitsfront, Union des Travailleurs Manuels et Intellectuels of Belgium, etc.). Appointed to every enterprise employing more than 20 men of their nationality, their function is to "convey the wishes and complaints of the workers to the higher authorities for settlement." 4/ Again it must be mentioned that although these liaison men are themselves foreigners, they are probably Nazi sympathizers.

4. Language and Nationality. In the entire previous discussion the common denominator of contact has been identity or similarity of language and nationality. It may be proper to mention in passing the DAF's attempt to teach foreign workers a "basic German". At best, however, this effort can only be expected to bear fruit among the office, professional, and skilled workers -- and if they have the time or interest.

1/ 10,000 trained in 1942 alone according to the Reich Ministry of Transportation in Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 1.2.43. Censorship PW/MEF/02850/43 also mentions French, Polish

2/ Censorship Int/7365/43 mentions a Russian chauffeur.

3/ Der Neue Tag, July 29, 1943.

4/ Vlammische Post (Berlin), 5.2.43.

5. Clergy. A possible means of contact among the foreign workers is afforded by the members of the clergy who are allowed to travel from camp to camp. A POW letter from Lucien Dugue-Boyer (44174 Stalagfeld Geistlichter, Stalag III A) gives evidence of this:

> I travel among the work groups (Kommandos) that have no priests to make sure that religious services are held . . . I have 37,000 faithful, distributed among 900 work groups, 77 priests, as many seminarists. I perform marriages by proxy, baptisms, first communions of adults. 1/

It must be stressed that these contacts are not general since the clergymen selected are usually well-disposed to the Nazi regime. 2/ A clearer picture of this situation may be obtained from a report in the Official Bulletin of the Ordinariate of the Apostolic Visitature for the Ukrainians of the Greek Catholic Rite in Greater Germany: 3/

1. Ukrainian religious services need not be notified beforehand to the secular authorities. Ukrainians with the designation "Ost" (East) are, however, excluded from them.

2. It is not forbidden for Catholic Ukrainians to fulfill their Sunday duty by attending Mass in Roman Catholic Churches. In no case, however, must they take part in the special services for Polish civilian workers.

3. All priests of the Latin Rite are authorized, within their jurisdiction, to give religious assistance of any kind to Ukrainians -- with the exception of prisoners of war, and of the Ukrainian workers with the designation "P" (Pole) or "Ost".

6. GERMAN REACTION TO FOREIGN LABOR

The attitude of the German worker towards the alien workers in Germany reflects his conflicting fears, sympathies, and desire to escape retribution.

(1) Probably most prevalent, and of considerable importance for psychological warfare, is the increasing anxiety and fear over the growing preponderance of foreign workers in field and factory. 1/ This tendency is widely reflected in the German daily press. Thus the Frankfurter Zeitung 2/ writes with foreboding of

> "The flood of foreigners, working with hatred in their hearts and waiting only for the moment of revenge."

Fear rises during blackouts and air raids. Reports of sabotage, murder, and theft on the part of foreign workers on such occasions is not at all uncommon. 3/

(2) At best there is a dull uneasiness about the part foreign workers will play when the collapse comes. Although this fear is strongest in middle-class circles, 4/ even the most friendly German worker feels that the foreigners will prove extremely unpleasant "guests" one day.

(3) These fears are the root of the repeated insistence of the Nazi leaders upon the superiority of the German worker and the necessity for him to maintain his distance from the foreigner:

> "It is not in harmony with our national dignity that Germans should lend foreign workers a helping hand or render them services; on the contrary, the most humble member of our nation must be esteemed higher than the foreign worker. It must be an unwritten law to be very cautious when talking or listening to foreign workers. It must never occur that Germans should quarrel in the presence of foreign workers or that they should be played one against the other." 5/

1/ OSS SA5-21-43 L9435.
2/ Cited in Censorship SF24403.
3/ Aftonbladet, 3.3.43 (Kilgour).
4/ Arbeitet (Stockholm) 1.6.43 (Kilgour).
5/ Gauobmann Bangert in Wirtschaftspolitische Parole, December 20, 19 42 in News Digest #1039 B14.

Such statements can be multiplied indefinitely. They reveal the fear which is responsible for the segregation of the foreign workers in barracks, 1/ and at work. Fear explains the frequent injunctions to Germans to be on guard against the foreigners and to deny them any sympathy. 2/ It accounts for the prison sentences imposed on German workers for sharing their rations with Russian prisoners of war in the same factory, prisoners who, in return, aided the Germans in boosting their piece-rate wages. 3/ It accounts for the decision of the Reichsgericht to inflict the death-penalty on Poles guilty of "indecent assault" (an elastic term in German usage) on German women, 4/ and for the numerous prison sentences imposed on German women for relations with foreign workers - French, Polish, and Ukrainian. 5/

(4) However, the very frequency of these injunctions and death sentences makes it abundantly clear that there are many Germans who refuse to regard the foreign workers as other than fellow human beings. To be sure, there are also reports of growing German antagonism to the foreign workers, particularly on the part of German women who resent the foreigners' taking the jobs of their men who have gone to the front. 6/ This resentment attracts less notice in the German press than the "fraternization" with foreigners. This accords with the Nazi policy of dividing foreigner from German.

On the other hand, despite considerable Nazi success in reducing contacts between foreigner and German, 7/ there are some reports indicating the possibility of cooperation between German and foreign workers in opposition to the German war effort. There is a mention of German workers assisting a considerable number of Dutch workers to escape from the Reich. 8/ There is another of Germans supplying and sheltering escaping Russian prisoners of war. 9/

Most frequently mentioned as expressions of sympathy are gifts of cigarettes and ration coupons to foreign workers and prisoners

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1/ Reichsarbeitsblatt, January 1941.
2/ Thus the Easter edition of the Nationalzeitung (Oberhausen) contains a prominent article entitled "Misplaced Sympathy."
3/ Arbeiter-Zeitung, 13.1.43 in News Digest #1061 B18.
4/ Deutsches Recht, 20.2.43 in News Digest #1086.
5/ Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten, 18.1.43 in News Digest #1040 B25; Leipziger, 8.1.43 and Oberschlesischer Zeitung, 20.3.43 in News Digest #1092.
6/ Censorship Ber. 41.031/42; "German women spit at them in the streets, saying they are sending German men to die by filling their jobs at home."
7/ OSS 31330-C, 1.4.43.
8/ S.I., No. A4805, 3.5.43. Graded B3.
9/ Svenska Dagbladet, 4.4.43.

of war, despite frequent admonitions and severe penalties. 1/

(5) It seems obvious that those German workers brought up in the school of trade unionism will consider unionized foreign workers not as enemies but as comrades. The bulk of male German labor has socialist and trade union leanings, the younger generation being at the front. Industrial trade union cooperation between German, French, Belgian and Dutch workers was close, especially in transportation, the building, mining and metal industries. This applies not only to the socialist ("free") but also to the Catholic trade unions.

We do not know the size of the political and trade union elements among foreign workers and are thus not able even to approximately quantify our statement. But there is no question that the numbers must be considerable.

7. POSSIBLE CONTACTS FROM OUTSIDE GERMANY.

The tight controls exercised over foreign workers make contact from outside a more difficult undertaking than is usually realized. Several possibilities of contact will be mentioned later, but it must constantly be kept in mind that they must not be wishfully interpreted.

a. Labor Front.

Possibilities are offered for MO by the Nederlandische Arbeits Front, the Union des Travailleurs Manuels et Intellectuels (Belgian), the Service Allemdnd de la Main d'Oeuvre and the Centre d' Information du Travail Francais en Allemagne, and the Berufsverband of Lithuania. All these have representatives that commute and communicate between their native land and Germany, and are in direct contact with the foreign workers.

An example of the opportunities afforded by these organizations is available in the following report in Les Nouveaux Temps 2/ :

The Centre d'Information du Travail Francais en Allemagne announces that lately the demands for special leave permits granted to French workers in Germany to visit close relatives in the case of serious illness has abnormally increased and is often supported by "accomodating" medical certificates. The Service Allemand de la Main d'Oeuvre will only grant special leave permits after a close examination and the approval of the French authorities.

Apparently an Italian organization possessed similar powers, as witness the following telegrams: 3/

> Turin to Berlin, June 12, 1943: "Please arrange leave for workman Siciardi Guglielmo North German Lime Kilns Berlin Neukölln um Oberkofen as his wife has to undergo an operation."
>
> Turin to Magdeburg, June 6, 1943: ". . . please arrange leave for workman Col Ubaldo Lager Marienehe Stube 3/6 Stadt Rostock, wife seriously ill."

In addition to the weekly newspapers for foreign workers published in Germany, there are a number of illustrated periodicals now being published in the home countries of the workers concerned; they

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1/ Der Angriff 28.4.42.
2/ Les Nouveaux Temps (Paris zone), 28.3.43 in News Digest #1112.
3/ Censorship Z.78774/43 P&T.

are imported and distributed in the Reich by the Gau offices of the DAF. These are: Werkend Volk, a Dutch bi-weekly, Volk und den Arbeid a Flemish monthly, Ensemble, a French monthly, and Les Hommes au Travail, a Belgian monthly. 1/

b. Clergy

Wider possibilities are offered by use of the clergy of various denominations who minister to the needs of foreign workers. It is necessary to repeat that clergymen selected for contact with foreign workers by the Germans are not very likely to be anti-Nazi in either thought or action. This is especially true with regard to the Greek Orthodox Church, 2/, although other faiths offer greater possibilities.

There is a reference to the Church being used in facilitating communication. Thus a Censorship item 3/:

> ". . . If this letter which is sent to you through the Armenian Patriarchate reaches you, you will, of course, reply through the same channel."

Another letter mentions the efforts of the Dutch Labor Front to secure Dutch preachers for their labor camps. 4/ It is also stated that in some cases German pastors who can speak Dutch have been holding services. The "Danish Ecclesiastical Organization for the Danes" is reported to be of assistance to Danish workers in Germany. 5/

Best evidence of the opportunities of clergymen is afforded by a previously quoted document in which a French priest discusses his activities among 900 work groups. 6/

c. Professional Men

Possible good contacts are the professional men, mostly doctors, who are imported to administer to their compatriots in Germany. Because of their intellectual background and position they could prove useful, 7/ if given an opportunity.

d. Mail

The mails offer little opportunity for contact as they are closely censored and chemically tested. 8/

1/ Der Angriff, 14.11.42.
2/ Cf. Ante.
3/ Censorship Cyprus Ref. B/96
4/ Censorship LON/SE/210056/43.
5/ Censorship ANP/1955/42.
6/ Censorship NY PW/1081.
7/ Casandra, 15/11/42 in News Digest #987
8/ According to a careful check on all Censor Material items from foreign workers and prisoners of war.

Further restrictions are often imposed 1/ :

> ...it is officially announced that Eastern workers in the Reich may only send post-cards to their families as of November 25 (1942), as the post offices will no longer accept letters.

However, some correspondence does get out 2/ :

> Instructions from the head of the German police and SS units in the town of Chernigov, captured by the partisans, showed the state of affairs in German censorship. "It has been observed once more," these instructions read, "that uncensored letters are reaching the relatives of laborers employed in Germany. This occurs because persons employed in the German service are delivering such letters to their destination. This interferes with the enrollment of workers for Germany, because unfavorable information about the conditions of Russian workers in Germany are reaching the Ukraine.

e. Commuting and Travelling

Workers commuting while on vacation present possibilities, although the opportunity varies according to the nationality of the worker and the needs of his employer. Thus Ostarbeiter are only allowed one trip home in two years (if convenient); 3/ Polish workers are obliged to do without vacations altogether. 4/ In general it may be said that vacations have hitherto gone almost entirely to West European workers, particularly Frenchmen.

A detailed report on restrictions imposed on vacationing foreigners is available 5/ :

> To facilitate the trip of foreign workers traveling home for vacations, the Arbeitsfront has organized hundreds of special trains. These trains transport the workers to the capitals of their respective countries without changing and in the best conditions. The number of tickets available corresponds exactly to the number of seats.

Attention is drawn at this occasion to the following points:

1/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 26.11.42.
2/ BBC Daily II 4A, 19.5.43.
3/ Polish Fortnightly Review, 1.4.43.
4/ Sydsvenska, 3.4.43 (Kilgour).
5/ GC 20.1.43.

(1) Every worker going on vacation is supposed to have a round-trip ticket mentioning the exact hours of departure and arrival. Without these tickets the access to special trains is prohibited.

(2) Every worker going on vacation is supposed to have an "Urlaubschein" signed by the "Arbeitsamt" and by the "Transportstab". These passes are delivered by the camp leader in due time.

(3) Passports or other papers of identification are indispensable. Visas are granted for groups of workers; individual visas are not necessary. It is forbidden to accept letters of friends, etc.

(4) It is forbidden to export German money. On the way back it is forbidden to import German money.

(5) Before leaving the "Werkausweise" have to be deposited with the managers of the enterprises.

The trip back has to be effectuated in the designated special trains.

f. Marine

The use of foreign personnel on ships and trains 1/ caused by German manpower shortage offers opportunities.

The following report is of the greatest possible significance for MO 2/:

The Consul at Goteborg reports that foreign seamen deserting from impressed service on German merchant ships say it is comparatively easy in the present confusion in Germany to enter that country as a foreign laborer and escape as a seaman. Manufacture of false identification papers for foreign workers is widespread in Germany. Hence, despite the most severe penalties for bearers or of dealers in such documents, it is increasingly difficult to keep foreigners from changing their places of employment or to keep tab on their identity and nationality.

Censorship has a copy of a letter handed to a Swedish seaman at Goteborg by British prisoners of war. 3/

1/ Thus a Censorship report of 29.12.42 states: "The merchant marine also depends on the utilization of foreign ships and seamen. One Baltic ship has a crew of six Germans and 18 Hollanders."

2/ PW Sec #4, 8.6.43. In this regard the following report from the Lübecker Zeitung, 8.15.43 News Digest #1230 is significant: A young Polish worker who was deserting his work and was equipped with forged papers has been arrested between Büchen and Lauenburg."

3/ Censorship PW/BR/B.05163.

g. Railroads

Germany's peculiar railway system also offers many interesting possibilities. Many trains cross national boundaries, and frequently change personnel or afford an opportunity for the mingling of German and other nationals. Thus a report dealing with an incident in which a Swiss engineer was arrested for giving a Russian prisoner of war a "neutral" cigar, clarifies the situation with regard to border towns: 1/

> ". . . It must be pointed out that the German railway personnel can come into Schaffhausen and do their shopping without a permit being necessary. At the same time the Swiss railway staff is strictly forbidden to leave the station at Singen."

It may also be worth noting that there are an estimated 40,000 prisoners of war and 120,000 foreign civilian workers on the railroads in various capacities 2/ .

h. Releve

Another contact peculiar to France is afforded by the releve whereby French prisoners of war are exchanged for French civilian workers. From a close examination of official notices, it is plain that there are certain French cities where released French prisoners arrive, and from which French laborers depart. These should afford some opportunity for contact, although the difficulties must not be under-estimated. Those points most commonly used are: Chartres, Compiegne, Gar de l'Est, La Rochelle, Gar du Nord, Dijon 3/, and in Paris the Gare de l'Est and the Gare du Nord.

However, there is a mention telling that French workers are sent to the Reich under police escort. Although the report mentions that this item is "typical", the presence of the guard may be due to the fact that the workers had refused to comply voluntarily. 4/

1/ Censorship S. Africa/4310/43.
2/ OSS 11123.
3/ Berne Plain 27/6/43; FCC 12.6.43; News Digests for 3.2.42, 13.3.43, 21.8.42, 25.3.43, 6.5.43, and 1.4.43.
4/ New York Times, 10/1/43

8. CONTROLS

a. Types of Control.

The German controls over foreign workers affect:

The selection of the employers who may use foreign workers.

The selection of the foreigner who is sent to work.

Supervision during work and the supervision after work.

When the employer has obtained authorization to obtain foreigners and the foreigner has been selected, he is given a labor book when he reaches his place of work. This he deposits with his employer. 1/ There is also a food card which he deposits in the office of the canteen at his place of employment and on which his meals are checked. When his employment ceases or when he is transferred (with the consent of his employer and the local labor exchange) to another job or locality, the labor passport and the ration book are given back to him for similar use in his new employment.2/

b. Control on the Job.

Control is exercised by the Betriebsobmaenner (foremen) of the Labor Front for each plant. They are usually reliable Nazis. Their powers are supplemented by the Plant Brigades which act as the spearhead of the Nazi Party in the plants and are usually composed of younger reliable workers.

Additional precautions against any hostile action, sabotage, or attempts to escape take the form of grouping the non-German workers into "cells" of about ten persons. A Nazi member is appointed as "leader" for eac h cell, with the duties of keeping in constant touch with each member, acquainting himself with the abilities and traits of the members, and subjecting them to Nazi propaganda. 3/

Rigorous regulations are prescribed as to minimum output. Those who fail to produce the prescribed minimum 4/ are investigated as to the cause of the deficiency. If sabotage or intentional non-conformity to the prescribed standard is suspected, the worker may be turned over

1/ KOZ 3.6.43 describes in full the regulations with regard to the newly instituted "Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer."

2/ ZEM 9.3.42 contains regulations with regard to working permits and documents of foreign workers.

3/ Peter A. Speek, "Foreign Workers in German War Efforts," Monthly Labor Review, June, 1942. This system sounds a bit over-elaborate for dealing with the new hordes of foreign workers and has probably been discarded as there is no current mention of any institution resembling these "cells."

4/ Naturally, in many industries it would be difficult to determine whether or not a worker was producing as much as he should.

to the Gestapo or sent to a concentration camp.

Probably the "best" control over the activities of the foreign workers in Germany is the inordinately long hours which, combined with the necessary travel to and from work and the inadequate food, leave him often neither the strength nor the time to carry out subversive activities.

c. Control over Place of Lodging

Foreign workers in labor camps (that is, the huge majority -- see p.), are tightly controlled by Labor Front officials, since the camps are administered by the Labor Front. German sentries in camps are on the watch, but this control is sometimes rather superficial and exercised by boy members of the Hitler Youth. Outside the job and the camp the foreigner is subject to no particular control. The time of return to the camp is not always supervised. 1/

Workers in the rural communities are not so closely scrutinized, although a particular effort is made to keep the Eastern workers in hand. 2/

d. Escapes

It is extremely difficult for a worker to escape or wander about the country, for without a labor passport 3/ he cannot obtain work en route, and without ration cards no one is permitted to give or sell him food. 4/ Any assistance to a fugitive worker is prohibited by the threat of severe punishment, even execution. 5/

When an employer discovers that a worker has disappeared, he is required to report the case at once to the local labor office. Unless the fugitive is at once seized in the immediate vicinity, the case is reported to the Gestapo. 6/ This agency then takes action to seize the fugitive at any railway station or harbor where he might be seeking transportation. Railway officials and policemen have been directed to arrest foreign workers found on trains without travel permits and to turn them over to the nearest labor offices, which, in turn, must

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1/ OSS A-7809 B-3 SECRET
2/ Br.N. 27.8.42.
3/ Mention has already been made of the common forging of these documents.
4/ Schleswig-Holsteinische Tageszeitung, 31.3.43.
5/ Svenska Dagebladet, 4/4/43 reports three persons executed for assisting Russian fugitives.
6/ Wiener Kronenzeitung, 1.1.43 in News Digest #1035 B37.

deliver them to the Gestapo. 1/

e. Air Raids

According to a Russian broadcast, the Gestapo has also been instructed to intensify the supervision of foreign workers in German towns liable to be bombed. 2/ This is consistent with other reports to the effect that the "guest workers" have taken advantage of air-raids to escape or commit crime or sabotage. 3/ Nor have flight and crime always awaited the opportunity afforded by raids. 4/

f. Rural Guards, City Guards, SA Wehrstuerme

The deterioration of German controls, the lack of an adequate police, the frequent shifts of working places caused by air raid destruction, and the increase in the number of foreign workers, have proved a serious problem to the Nazi machine. How are they to prevent the escape of foreign workers and P/Ws; how to protect Germany from roaming bands of escaped foreigners, how to secure Germany in general from dangers accompanying 6500,000 working foreigners.

The City Guards (Stadtwacht), the Rural Guards (Landwacht), later coordinated in the SA Wehrstuerme, provided the solution. When the auxiliary guards were established, the Nazis candidly admitted that they were needed to combat lawlessness among foreign workers. The auxiliary units consist, however, either of very young or very old people.

1/ Speak, op. cit.
2/ BBC Daily Digest, 16.4.43.
3/ New York Times, February 15 and March 26, 1943.
4/ Weekly RoundUp, Central Europe, No. 24, p. 19; No. 19, p. 8; No. 16, pp. 14-16.

9. SIGNIFICANCE FOR PW OPERATIONS

PW should be aware of the following distinctions, national, occupational, and regional - in their operations with foreign labor in Germany:

1. Distinctions according to Nationality

The nationalities best suited for Allied PW operations are

Danes
French
Belgians
Dutch
Czechs

Skilled workers are found primarily in these nationality groups. The skilled worker offers an excellent opening for PW operation. There are two reasons for this:

a) it is the skilled worker who has most opportunity for sabotage.
b) it is the skilled worker who possesses the best political and trade union education.

The French group may have now approximately 1,000,000 including those P/Ws whose status has been commuted to that of civilian workers. 1/

It is advisable to eliminate from consideration Poles, Rumanians, Slovaks and Thuringians and to concentrate on the above nationality groups.

2. Occupational Distinctions

Potentially, the most fruitful industrial branches are

Mining
Metal Industry
Building Construction
Transportation
Dockworkers and Seamen

1/ See S.I. document A 11542. R. Castagnet, chief French labor organizer, states that owing "to commutation of war prisoners into free workers" the number of civilian workers in Germany had reached 810000 in April 1943, about 20% of all male Frenchmen between 15 and 45 years were now in Germany. The above figures of 1000000 has been estimated on the basis of a discussion with Louis Franck of the Western European Section.

In the first place the largest number of skilled workers are employed in these occupations.

In the second place it is these industries which contribute the really tight spots in German industry.

3. Regional Distinctions

The regions best suited for PW operations are:

The Northern Parts
The Northern and Northwestern industries
The Rhenish Westphalian industrial region
The Berlin area
The Wiener Neustadt and Linz
Saxony

Apart from the accessibility of some of these regions, all regions mentioned above had a high degree of unionization in the Weimar Republic (Rhineland, Westphalia are Socialist and Catholic). They are centers of heavy shipping and metal and steel processing industries. Stuttgart and Schweinfurt are, of course, as important as the seat of the ball bearing industry. Stuttgart, besides, has considerable motor vehicle industry.

4. Suggested Operations: General Remarks

The positive opportunities of exploiting the situation of foreign labor in Germany point in two directions. On the one hand, the presence of foreign workers in Germany presents the opportunity of fanning antagonism between foreign workers and Germans and of using foreign workers as disruptive agents in Nazi society. On the other hand, it is possible to use the large number of foreign workers to promote an attitude of friendship and cooperation (a) with the German population in general, (b) with those groups in Germany (workers, peasants, women, underground, etc.) which may be won over for subversive activities against the Nazi regime. Both possibilities offer numerous opportunities for direct action. They are, of course, not mutually exclusive for PW operations.

The former method (farming antagonism) is clearly the most obvious. It is reported that the Russians are already using it to great advantage. They are propagandizing German troops on the Eastern front with the threat which foreign workers present to German homes, jobs, and families. Unfortunately, this method also aids the Nazi policy of estranging Germans and foreigners, there-

by retaining more effective control over both.

The second method (friendship and cooperation between Germans and foreign workers) is obviously more difficult, but may promise greater and more lasting results. It might not only lead to winning German labor support for the foreign laborers' campaign of slow-down and sabotage, thus perhaps contributing to a reactivisation of German labor in general, but it might also provide a valuable basis for European cooperation in the post-war period. 1/

5. Method I: Antagonism and Frictions

The presence of foreign workers opens numerous possibilities. The actual operations, however, must distinguish between various targets which must be approached differently.

First, the foreign workers themselves.

(i) Campaign of sabotage and slowdown in factories and farms may be continued. A new field has been opened up by the air war over Germany and offers many opportunities for sabotage action during and after raids.

(ii) Useful skills may be concealed, and thus force a larger number of German skilled workers (mostly elderly men with socialist background and leanings) to remain in factories instead of being released to the army.

(iii) Infiltration of Allied news and propaganda. This can be used not only for the "enlightenment" of the home front as to German military misfortunes in general but may also increase anxieties by spreading specific reports concerning the fate of German soldiers in Allied hands.

(iv) Foreign workers provide excellent material for spreading rumors regarding all possible subjects, (especially, at the present, rumors regarding Party activities and personnel, frictions and conflicts within elite groups, prospects of victory, and effect of air raids).

(v) fifth column activities may be further encouraged (espionage, etc.)

1/ for a more detailed discussion of these two attitudes toward foreign labor see OSS Special Report "Foreign Workers in Germany: Significance for P/W," pp. 9-10.

Secondly, there are the ways in which the German soldiers may be approached with regard to the presence of foreign workers at home.

(i) Anxieties may be increased over the intrusion of foreigners into domestic life (relations to wives and children). Also, it may prove effective to reiterate the idea that foreigners are only called upon to work, Germans to die.

(ii) Soldiers are directly concerned about the unreliability of the industrial and military products manufactured by foreign workers.

(iii) Soldiers may also be aroused to special resentment over slow-downs and acts of industrial sabotage by foreign workers because this brings about a drop in the production of war material - a drop which may be decisive in the final military situation.

Thirdly, German workers may be reached by PW operations on the following grounds:

(i) insecurity in factory operations due to acts of sabotage,
(ii) frustration of their military effort because of sabotage and slowdowns by foreigners,
(iii) guilt feelings about the inferior position of foreign workers with equal skills.

These points also offer opportunities for addressing that part of the German public (women, youth, etc.) which comes in contact with foreign workers.

7. Method (II): Cooperation and Friendly Relations

The targets, in the very nature of this method (cooperation being the chief aim) cannot be so clearly distinguished as under the "antagonistic". It should be repeated, however, that as far as the effect of PW operations is concerned, the two methods are not mutually exclusive.

The principal aim of this method is to promote an understanding between German people and foreign workers in order to produce techniques and conditions which can be used against the Nazi regime.

This may affect the relationship between foreign workers and German workers in the following ways:

(i) German workers may be drawn into the campaign of slowdowns and sabotage.
(ii) German workers may learn about opposition methods as practiced by foreign workers both in their own country and in the Reich.
(iii) Contacts between the politically-conscious leadership of the two groups may be encouraged and broadened.

(iv) Workers' underground groups may be strengthened through these same channels, if cooperation between foreign and German workers can be established.
(v) Foreign workers offer the best means of spreading Allied pro-labor propaganda guaranteeing German workers old rights and privileges without Nazi terror.
(vi) Foreign and German workers may learn to distinguish between unreliable labor groups and labor leaders. This would prove valuable for post-war reconstruction of the German labor movement.

The relationship with the German public in general is affected in similar ways:

(i) Foreign workers are on-the-spot witnesses for those guilty and those not guilty in the Nazi system.
(ii) Foreign workers offer perhaps the most effective channels for positive pro-Allied propaganda concerning post-war Germany. Their influence could be highly effective because the German public attitude toward foreign workers and prisoners of war is largely determined by deep-seated fears about post-war retribution.